

*Smith v. Hosemann*, No. 3:01-cv-855-HTW-DCB  
Expert Report for *Amici Curiae*

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## Introduction

I have been retained as an expert by counsel for Amici to examine the impact of the 2020-round of Congressional redistricting in Mississippi. This report provides a summary of the findings concerning racially polarized voting (RPV) in Mississippi and its effect on the opportunity of Black voters to elect the candidate of their choice in the Enacted Congressional Districts. I was also asked to compare the Enacted Congressional Plan with the two Amici Plans concerning congressional districts.

## Summary of Professional Qualifications

I am a tenured professor of political science in the Department of Political Science at the University of Utah. I have done extensive research regarding the relationship between election systems and the ability of minority voters to participate fully in the political process and to elect representatives of their choice.

My research has won the Byran Jackson Award for the best study/dissertation about racial voting from the Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, and the Ted Robinson Award from the Southwest Political Science Association. The results of my research have been published in Social Science Quarterly, American Politics Research, Sociological Methods and Research, PS: Political Science and Politics, Urban Affairs Review, Political Behavior, Journal of Urban Affairs, Southeastern Political Review, and American Review of Politics, among other journals. I am also an author or editor of eight scholarly books including the forthcoming Political Volatility in the United States, and Solving the Mystery of the Model Minority; The Election of Barack Obama: How He Won, and Race Rules: Electoral Politics in New Orleans, 1965-2006. I have also served as a member of the Board of Directors/Advisors on many national and international organizations such as the National Association for Ethnic Studies, Urban Affairs Review, Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences, and International Encyclopedia of Political Science (CQ Press).

As an expert on RPV analysis, I have published peer-reviewed journal articles and books on the cutting-edge techniques used by academic professionals and supported by courts concerning voting rights cases and the electoral history in the South. I have served as an expert witness for minority plaintiffs in dilution cases in states such as Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina, New York, Louisiana, Utah, and Tennessee. I have also been invited to be an instructor of RPV analysis in expert training programs, organized by such organizations as the Ford Foundation, concerning both the 2010 and 2020 rounds of redistricting. I have also been retained as RPV expert by Florida State Legislature (the Senate), and the Republican Minority Leader of Illinois State Senate for legal disputes on redistricting.

My applied research and grants have included analyses of ranked choice voting, economic development, racial voting patterns, public school science education, school districts' economic impact on local economy, and various citizen surveys. My grants have come from New America, the National Science Foundation, American Political Science Association, the National Humanities Center, Wisconsin Security Research Consortium, Fond du Lac School District, Johnson Controls, Inc, City of Waupaca (WI), the League of Women Voters, American

Democracy Project, and Wisconsin Public Service. I also served as the editor of Urban News for the American Political Science Association's Urban Politics Section, and I was elected as a co-chair of the Asian Pacific American Caucus of the American Political Science Association.

Attached as Appendix 1 is a curriculum vitae setting forth my professional background, which includes a list of all publications I have authored or co-authored, including forthcoming publications. Appendix II lists the voting rights cases in which I served as an expert witness.

### Main Findings on Racially Polarized Voting in Mississippi

My analysis of voting in both Congressional and state-wide elections demonstrates a racially polarized pattern in Mississippi. In the four elections analyzed in this report, the majority of white voters support certain candidates, whereas the overwhelming majority of Black voters support different candidates.

This RPV pattern was clear based on my analysis of three state-wide elections between 2019 and 2020. These three elections include the 2020 US Senate elections in Mississippi, the 2019 Attorney General election, and the 2019 Secretary of State. More importantly, I also analyzed the 2020 Congressional District 2 election which is an endogenous election.<sup>1</sup> The election returns at the precinct level in these four elections are matched with the racial/ethnic demographics at the Voting Tabulation District (VTD) level based on the 2020 census. I relied on the award-winning Ecological Inference (EI) technique and its R-Packages originally developed by Professor Gary King of Harvard University which has been widely adopted by quantitative experts in federal voting rights litigations and redistricting data analyses and supported by courts as the most cutting-edge and advanced scientific tool to estimate accurately the racial/ethnic bloc voting patterns commonly seen in the United States. The EI technique can provide us with the estimates of vote choice of racial/ethnic groups. In the following pages, I will refer non-Hispanic whites as Whites.

Tables 1 and 2 provide the estimates of racial support for the Black and White candidates in the two biracial elections in 2020 (the cells in the tables representing the candidates' vote share with respect to a specific racial group).<sup>2</sup> The White support for the Black-preferred candidates (Thompson and Espy in the 2020 Congressional District 2 and the 2020 US Senate elections, respectively) was both at about 11% level. In contrast, the overwhelming Black support for the same Black-preferred candidates was at about 94% level. Thus, the White majority and Black voters voted differently, both as a voting bloc.

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<sup>1</sup> An endogenous election involves the electoral office at issue (in this case, Congressional elections).

<sup>2</sup> Biracial elections are those that involve both Black and White candidates.

**Table 1**  
**Congressional District 2**  
**2020 General Election**

| Group | Of the voters that turned out voted for |         |
|-------|---|---------|
|       | Thompson                                | Flowers |
| White | 11.6%                                   | 88.4%   |
| Black | 94.2%                                   | 5.8%    |
| Total | 54.1%                                   | 45.9%   |

**Table 2**  
**US Senate**  
**2020 General Election**

| Group | Of the voters that turned out voted for |            |
|-------|---|------------|
|       | Espy                                    | Hyde-Smith |
| White | 11.2%                                   | 88.8%      |
| Black | 93.9%                                   | 6.1%       |
| Total | 44.1%                                   | 55.9%      |

Tables 3 and 4 provide the estimates of racial support for the Black and White candidates in the two biracial state-wide elections in 2019. The White support for the Black and Black-preferred candidates (Riley Collins in the Attorney General election and Johnny DuPree in the Secretary of State election, respectively) was, again, as low as around the 10% level. The overwhelming Black support for the Black-preferred candidates was also as high as about 90% level. Clearly, the white majority and Black voters voted differently, both as a voting bloc.

**Table 3**  
**Mississippi Attorney General**  
**2019 General Election**

| Group | Of the voters that turned out voted for |       |
|-------|---|-------|
|       | Collins                                 | Fitch |
| White | 10.4%                                   | 89.6% |
| Black | 89.7%                                   | 10.3% |
| Total | 41.5%                                   | 58.5% |

**Table 4**  
**Mississippi Secretary of State**  
**2019 General Election**

| Group | Of the voters that turned out voted for |        |
|-------|---|--------|
|       | DuPree                                  | Watson |
| White | 9.5%                                    | 90.5%  |
| Black | 90.0%                                   | 10.0%  |
| Total | 40.5%                                   | 59.5%  |

In sum, there has been a consistent pattern of highly racially polarized voting in the biracial elections in Mississippi which is revealed not only in Congressional but also recent state-wide races.

### Effectiveness Analyses

I have also conducted a comparative study of three Mississippi Congressional redistricting plans based on the data from the three most recent exogenous statewide elections in Mississippi and the racial demographic data from the 2020 census. These three plans are the Enacted Plan that has been passed by the Mississippi Legislature and signed into law by the Governor, and the other two plans were proposed by the Amici.

A comparative study of two or more redistricting plans is commonly referred to as an “effectiveness analysis.” This comparative study reports the different opportunities for racial minority voters (in this case, Black voters) to elect the candidates of their choice, given how the different redistricting plans have determined the racial configuration of a certain jurisdiction under legal dispute, and the extent to which racially polarized voting has affected the election outcomes in the given jurisdiction.

To compare the Enacted Plan with the Amici Plans, I used three state-wide exogenous elections about which I have reported the RPV findings above—the 2020 US Senate election, the 2019 State Attorney General election, and the 2019 Secretary of State election. These three elections were state-wide elections which involved all voters in Mississippi, and they were from the most recent statewide election cycles, and thus can help project how voters will vote in near future elections in Mississippi.

**Table 5** provides the results of the effectiveness analysis (EA thereafter) for the four Congressional Districts.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The Black racial group measure reported in **Tables 5** is based on any-part BVAP according to the 2020 census data. The redistricting process in the United States typically takes consideration of census Voting-Age-Population (VAP) data to compare the relative presences of racial groups in a given jurisdiction. Certainly, the racial configuration of a given jurisdiction involves more than white and Black groups, such as Hispanic/Latino voters and other racial minority groups. Therefore, I used the racial configuration data (non-Hispanic white VAP, any-part Black VAP, Hispanic VAP, and all-other VAP based on the 2020 census) matched with the three state-wide election data at the census Voting-Tabulation-District (VTD) units to perform the effectiveness analyses.

**Table 5: Effectiveness Analyses for CDs in Mississippi**

| <b>District</b>   | <b>CD1</b> | <b>CD 2</b> | <b>CD 3</b> | <b>CD 4</b> |
|---|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>BVAP</b>   |            |             |             |             |
| Enacted Plan  | 27%        | 62%         | 33%         | 23%         |
| Amici Plan 1  | 27%        | 54%         | 42%         | 22%         |
| Amici Plan 2  | 26%        | 55%         | 42%         | 22%         |
| <b>WVAP</b>   |            |             |             |             |
| Enacted Plan  | 67%        | 34%         | 62%         | 68%         |
| Amici Plan 1  | 67%        | 41%         | 53%         | 69%         |
| Amici Plan 2  | 68%        | 41%         | 53%         | 69%         |
| <b>Vote for Black-Preferred-Candidate in 2020 US Senate</b> |            |             |             |             |
| Enacted Plan  | 39%        | 62%         | 41%         | 36%         |
| Amici Plan 1  | 38%        | 62%         | 47%         | 35%         |
| Amici Plan 2  | 39%        | 59%         | 45%         | 36%         |
| <b>Average % vote for Black-Preferred-Candidates</b>        |            |             |             |             |
| Enacted Plan  | 36%        | 60%         | 39%         | 33%         |
| Amici Plan 1  | 35%        | 59%         | 46%         | 32%         |
| Amici Plan 2  | 36%        | 57%         | 43%         | 33%         |

**Table 5** shows the distributions of Black and white voting age populations among the four Congressional districts based on the three proposed plans. The most significant differences between the Enacted Plan and the two Amici Plans are that Black VAP was reduced in CD 2 and increased in CD3. The question is whether these differences lead to different opportunities for Black voters to elect the candidate of their choice.

**Table 5** shows the estimated vote for the Black-preferred candidate in the 2020 U.S. Senate race under the three proposed plans. The final three rows of **Table 5** provide the average percent of votes cast for the Black-preferred candidates in CDs in the three statewide elections under the three proposed plans. As shown in **Table 5**, the Black-preferred candidate for U.S. Senate would have received between 62% and 59% of the total votes cast in CD 2 under Amici Plans 1 and 2, respectively, whereas the Black-preferred candidate is estimated to have also received 62% based on the Enacted Plan. Thus, the opportunity of Black voters to elect the candidate of choice is the same between the Enacted Plan and Amici Plan 1 with respect to CD2.

The average % vote for the Black-preferred Candidates in the three statewide elections under each of the proposed plans shows similar results for CD2. Therefore, the reduction of the BVAP

in the Amici Plans in CD 2 would not lead to the loss of an opportunity to elect Black-preferred candidates as compared to the Enacted Plan. This finding shows that the Enacted Plan unnecessarily packed Black voters.

In CD 3, the increase in Black VAP in the Amici Plan 1 leads to the increase in the opportunity of Black voters to elect the candidate of choice by 6% in the 2020 US Senate race, and 7% on average in the three state-wide elections. Amici Plan 2 also sees similar increases in CD 3, though at a slightly lower rate.

In short, the Amici Plans performs well as or better than the Enacted Plan in terms of Black voters' opportunity to elect the candidate of their choice.

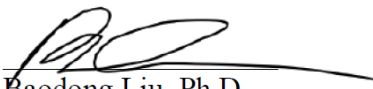
### Conclusion

The empirical analyses clearly revealed that in 4 out of 4 biracial elections in Mississippi in which Black and white voters had a chance to vote for a candidate from their own racial group Black voters expressed a preference for specific candidates, and that preference was not shared by a majority of white voters. This RPV pattern is confirmed not only by the 2020 Congressional District 2 election, but also by the three statewide elections during the last two election cycles. Despite the highly cohesive bloc voting by Black voters for the Black preferred candidates, the white majority voters typically voted as bloc to defeat the candidates preferred by Black voters in these elections.

Thus, my empirical analysis indicates that the characteristics of "racial polarization," as defined by the Supreme Court in *Thornburg v. Gingles*, (478 U.S. 30 at 53 n.21), has been met by Mississippi's recent elections.

The Amici Plans are the same or more effective as the Enacted Redistricting Plan in providing Black voters the opportunity to elect their preferred candidates. More specifically, the Amici plans lower the Black population in CD 2 while maintaining Black voters' opportunity to elect in that district.

Per 28 U.S. Code § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed on March 3, 2022.

  
Baodong Liu, Ph.D.

### *Curriculum Vitae*

**Baodong Liu, Ph.D.**  
**Professor (with Tenure) in Political Science and Ethnic Studies**

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### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

*Professor of Political Science and Ethnic Studies, affiliated with Asian Studies, 2008-present*  
*Associate Chair, Political Science Department, 2015-2017*  
*Interim Director, Ethnic Studies Program, 2011-2013*  
University of Utah

Courses taught: Advanced Quantitative Methods (graduate), American Political Behavior (graduate), Race and Political Volatility in the US (graduate/undergraduate), Voting, Election and Public Opinion, Racial and Ethnic Politics, Political Analysis, Asian American Contemporary Issues, Social Justice and Inequality, Asian Pacific American Experiences, Methodology in Ethnic Studies.

*TRISS Endowed Professor in Political Science, 2007-2008*  
*Associate Professor (early promotion to associate professor 2005, early tenure 2006)*  
*Assistant Professor, 2002-2005*  
Department of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

Courses taught: Race and Ethnicity in American Politics, Politics of Urban Growth, Political Method, State and Local Government, Political Analysis, American Government, National, state and Local Government.

*Assistant Professor of Political Science*  
Department of Political Science  
Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri, 1999 - 2002

Courses taught: Urban and Minority Politics, Legislative Process, American Presidency, Campaigning and Lobbying, Macroeconomics, American Government, and Introduction to Statistics.

*Consultant, Expert Witness, Principal Investigator, Opinion Writer/Commentator, 2000-present*  
Provided research services to the US Department of Justice, New America, Navajo Nation, Southern Coalition for Social Justice, National Science Foundation, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Florida State Legislature, Illinois State Legislature, Wisconsin Security Research Consortium, Fond du Lac School District, Johnson Controls, Inc, City of Waupaca (WI), and Wisconsin Public Service, among others.  
Served also as a commentator and/or opinion writer for Salt Lake Tribune, ABC4News, Hinkley Forum, NPR, AP, Daily Utah Chronicle, ETtoday, Chinese Americans, Milwaukee Sentinel Journal, Daily Caller, KSL, among other media outlets.

### **EDUCATION**

*Ph.D. in Political Science (1999), University of New Orleans, Louisiana*  
*Dissertation: Black Candidates, White Voters and Racial Context*



Winner of Byran Jackson Award, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, and Winner of Ted Robinson Award for the best research in race and ethnicity, Southwestern Political Science Association

M.A. in *Political Science* (1995), Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma

LL. B (1987), The East China University of Political Science and Law, Shanghai, China

Post-Doctoral Educational Program Participant

National Science Foundation's "Local Elections in America Project Workshop," Macalester College, Saint Paul, MN (2009)

*Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity*, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan (2006)

*Mapping Your City with GIS Workshop*, New Urban Research, Madison, Wisconsin (2005)

*Jessie Ball duPont Summer Seminars for Liberal Arts College Faculty*, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle, North Carolina (2001)

**PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS** (contribution is in the order of authors for publications with multiple authors).

A) Books

Liu, Baodong. *Political Volatility in the United States: How Racial and Religious Groups Win and Lose*. (forthcoming, Lexington Books)

Liu, Baodong. Ed. (2018). *Solving the Mystery of the Model Minority: The Journey of Asian Americans in America*. Cognella Academic Publishing.

Liu, Baodong. (2016). *Race, Ethnicity and Religion in the American Political Arena*. University Readers.

Liu, Baodong. (2015). *Social Research: Integrating Mathematical Foundations and Modern Statistical Computing*. Cognella Academic Publishing.

Liu, Baodong. (2013). *Understanding the Scientific Method: A Social Science Approach*. University Readers.

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Liu, Baodong and James Vanderleeuw. (2007). *Race Rules: Electoral Politics in New Orleans, 1965-2006*. Lexington Books. Paperback and Hardback. Reviewed by Peter Burns (2008) for *Urban Affairs Review*; also reviewed by Robert Dupont (2008) for *H-Urban*.

Liu, Baodong. (2002). *Making American Democracy Work: Reforms and Debates*. The McGraw-Hill, Inc.

B) Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- Liu, Baodong, Porter Morgan and Dimitri Kokoromytis. (forthcoming) "Immigration, Nation-State Contexts and Value Changes of Ethnic Chinese" *Athens Journal of Social Sciences*.
- Liu, Baodong, Zachary Stickney, and Nicole Batt. (2020). "Authoritarianism for and against Trump," *Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences* 7(3): 218-238.
- Liu, Baodong. (2018). "The Haitian and Cuban American Electorates in South Florida: Evidence from Ten Federal, State and Local Elections, 2008-2014." *National Political Science Review* 19 (1): 51-60.
- Wei, Dennis, Weiyi Xiao, Christopher Simon, Baodong Liu, Yongmei Ni. (2018). "Neighborhood, Race and Educational Inequality." *Cities* 73: 1-13.
- Simon, Christopher A., Nicholas P. Lovrich, Baodong Liu, and Dennis Wei. (2017). "Citizen Support for Military Expenditure Post 9/11: Exploring the Role of Place of Birth and Location of Upbringing." *Arm Forces and Society* 44 (4): 688-706.
- Liu, Baodong, Dennis Wei, and Christopher A. Simon. (2017). "Social Capital, Race, and Income Inequality in the United States." *Sustainability* 9 (2): 1-14.
- Liu, Baodong. (2014). "Post-Racial Politics? Counterevidence from the Presidential Elections, 2004-2012." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 11(2): 443-463.
- Liu, Baodong. (2014). "Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections." *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 1(1): 21-33.
- Liu, Baodong. (2011). "Demystifying the 'Dark Side' of Social Capital: A Comparative Bayesian Analysis of White, Black, Latino, and Asian American Voting Behavior." *The American Review of Politics* 32 (Spring): 31-56.
- Byron D'Andra Orey, L. Marvin Overby, Pete Hatemi and Baodong Liu. (2011). "White Support for Racial Referenda in the Deep-South." *Politics & Policy* 39 (4): 539-558.
- Geoffrey M. Draper, Baodong Liu, and Richard F. Riesenfeld. (2011). "Integrating Statistical Visualization Research into the Political Science Classroom." *Information Systems Education Journal* 9 (3): 83-94.
- Liu, Baodong. (2011). "Obama's Local Connection: Racial Conflict or Solidarity?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44 (1): 103-105.
- Liu, Baodong. (2011). "State Political Geography and the Obama White Vote." *World Regional Studies* 20 (4): 1-15. (in Chinese)
- Liu, Baodong, Sharon D. Wright Austin, and Byron D'Andrá Orey. (2009). "Church Attendance, Social Capital, and Black Voting Participation" *Social Science Quarterly* 90 (3): 576-92.
- Vanderleeuw, James, Baodong Liu, and Erica Nicole Williams. (2008). "The 2006 New Orleans Mayoral Election: The Political Ramifications of a Large-Scale Natural Disaster." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 41 (4): 795-801.

Liu, Baodong and Robert Darcy. (2008) "Race, Immigration, and Party Strategies in the US Elections," *Íslenska Leiðin*: 33-39.

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Vanderleeuw, James, and Baodong Liu. (2006). "Racial Polarization or Biracial Coalition? An Empirical Analysis of the Electoral Coalition of Winning Candidates in Urban Elections," *American Review of Politics* 27 (Winter): 319-344.

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Vanderleeuw, James, Baodong Liu, and Greg Marsh. (2004). "Applying Black Threat Theory, Urban Regime Theory, and Deracialization: The Memphis Mayoral Elections of 1991, 1995, and 1999," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 26 (4): 505-519

Liu, Baodong, and James Vanderleeuw. (2003). "Growth Imperative, Postmaterialism and Local Decision-Makers," *Journal of Political Science* 31: 173-96.

Liu, Baodong. (2003). "Deracialization and Urban Racial Context," *Urban Affairs Review* 38 (4): 572-591.

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Liu, Baodong. (2001). "The Positive Effect of Black Density on White Crossover Voting: Reconsidering the Social Interaction Theory," *Social Science Quarterly* 82 (3): 602-615.

Liu, Baodong. (2001). "Racial Context and White Interests: Beyond Black Threat and Racial Tolerance," *Political Behavior* 23 (2): 157-80.

Liu, Baodong, and James Vanderleeuw. (2001). "Racial Transition and White-Voter Support for Black Candidates in Urban Elections," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23 (3/4): 309-22.

Liu, Baodong. (2001). "Interests and Opinions among African-Americans: A Test of Three Theories," *the Texas Journal of Political Studies* 21 (2): 113-24.

Liu, Baodong, and James Vanderleeuw. (1999). "White Response to Black Political Power: the Case of New Orleans, 1980-1994." *Southeastern Political Review* 27 (1): 175-188.

### C) Book Chapters, Encyclopedia Entries and other Peer-reviewed Articles

Liu, Baodong, Nadia Mahallati, and Charles Turner. (2021). "Ranked-Choice Voting Delivers Representation and Consensus in Presidential Primaries" *Available at SSRN*: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3822879> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3822879>

Liu, Baodong. “The Growth of Scientific Knowledge through Social Computing Networks” (2021). *The 19<sup>th</sup> International E-Society Conference Proceedings*.

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#### D) Book Reviews

Liu, Baodong. (2010). Review of Zoltan L. Hajnal, “America’s Uneven Democracy: Race, Turnout, and Representation in City Politics” in *American Review of Politics 31 (summer): 157-160*.

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Liu, Baodong. (1999). Review of Terry Nichols Clark and Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot (ed), “The New Political Culture,” in *American Review of Politics 20: 99-102*.

#### E). Other Publications/Editorials

Liu, Baodong. (2021). “Asian Americans and Minority Voters: The New Destination of Partisan Competitions?” ETtoday. January 8, 2021. (in Chinese/Taiwanese)

Liu, Baodong. (2020). “Checks and Balances and the End of Trump Legal Battles”. ETtoday. Dec. 29, 2020. (in Chinese/Taiwanese)

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Liu, Baodong (2008). “The Urban Politics Field as We Know It.” *Urban News* 22 (1): 1-2.

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Liu, Baodong. (2006). “Midterm Election Results Show No Clear Future Vision.” Guest Column, *Advance-Titan*. Nov. 9, 2006: A5.

Liu, Baodong and James Vanderleeuw. (2003). “Local Policymakers and Their Perceptions of Economic Development: Suburbs, Central Cities and Rural Areas Compared” *Wisconsin Political Scientist* IX (1): 4-7.

## SOFTWARE DEVELOPMENT/GRANTS

*diaglm*, the author of the R software statistical package for diagnosing and visualization of violations of linear and nonlinear statistical modeling, published at GitHub (bblpo/diaglm). 2019.

*diagglm*, the author of the R software statistical package for diagnosing and visualization of violations of nonlinear statistical modeling, published at github (bblpo/diagglm). 2019.

Principal Investigator, “Authoritarianism in the Global Ethnic Chinese Communities”, a grant proposal supported by University Sabbatical Leave and Asia Center Travel Award. 2020. \$1500

Principal Investigator, with Co-Pi, Mike Cobbs (North Carolina State University) and Richard Engstrom (University of Houston). “Understanding the Support for Ranked-Choice Voting,” initial grant proposal supported by Political Reform Program, New America. Washington D.C. 2020. \$40,000

Co-PI, with Dennis Wei (PI) and Chris Simon. “Amenity, Neighborhood and Spatial Inequality: A Study of Salt Lake County,” Interdisciplinary Research Pilot Program (IRPP), College of Social and Behavioral Science, the University of Utah, 2015. \$10,000.

Co-PI, with Annie Isabel Fukushima (PI). “Victimization, Human Trafficking and Immigrants: Mixed Methods analysis of the Perceptions of Victimhood in U.S. Courts (2000 – 2015)”, submitted to National Institute of Justice, 2015. \$997,407. (rejected)

Co-PI, with Daniel McCool. “The Efficacy of American Indian Voting: A Pilot Project” Research Incentive Grant, College of Social and Behavioral Science, the University of Utah. (2014-). \$7500.

I have provided my Expert Witness Opinions on federal voting rights cases such as *Milligan, et al. v. Merrill, et al.*, Case No. 2:21-cv-01530-AMM and *Thomas, et al. v. Merrill, et al.*, Case No. 2:21-cv-01531-AMM (N.D. Ala. 2021), *Traci Jones et al vs. Jefferson County Board of Education et al*, (N.D. Ala. 2019); *CMA v. Arkansas* (E.D. Ark., 2019); *Navajo Nation, et al, vs. San Juan County, et al*, (D. Utah, 2012); *League of Women Voters of Florida, et al v. Detzner, et al*, (Fla., 2012); *Anne Pope et. al. v. County of Albany and the Albany County Board of Elections* (N.D.N.Y. 2011); *Radogno, et al v. State Board of Elections, et al*, (N.D. Ill. 2011); *NAACP v. St. Landry Parish et al*, (W.D. La. 2003); *Arbor Hill Concerned Citizens Neighborhood Association et al v. County of Albany* (N.D.N.Y. 2003); *Hardeman County Branch of NAACP v. Frost* (2003).

Expert Instructor, Racially Polarized Voting and Political Participation: EI and EZI. Expert Preparation Program, Community Census and Districting Institute. A grant supported by Ford Foundation and Southern Coalition for Social Justice, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. 2010.

Principal Investigator, 2010-2012. A Multi-level Analysis of Obama Racial Coalition in 2008 and 2012. A project funded by the PIG grant of College of Social and Behavior Sciences, the University of Utah.

Co-PI. Educational Succession Movements in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, proposal submitted to Seed Grants, the University of Utah. 2009. Rejected.

Recipient, Faculty Sabbatical Grant, 2008. University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, grant offered, but finally declined the offer due to job change.

Grant Director/Faculty Advisor, 2008. The WiscAMP program, National Science Foundation.

Principal Investigator, 2007. Wisconsin Research and Development Capacity Study. A project funded by Wisconsin Security Research Consortium.

Principal Investigator, 2007. The Impact of Industrial Involvement on Science Education in Wisconsin. A project funded by Johnson Control, Inc.

Principal Investigator, 2007. The Impact of Fond du Lac School District on Local Economic Development. A project funded by Fond du Lac School District.

EI Methodologist, 2007. Retrogressive Effects of H.B. No. 1565 on Latino Voters in the Bexar County Metropolitan Water District, TX.

Principal Investigator, 2006. The Impact of Economic Development on Citizen Opinions. A project funded by City of Waupaca, Wisconsin Public Services.

Principal Investigator, 2006. Leading the Big Easy: Will the Biracial Coalition Sustain Katrina? Institute on Race and Ethnicity, University of Wisconsin System. 2006.

Methodological Issues in Quantitative Research on Race and Ethnicity, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, 2006.

Off-Campus Program Grant, Faculty Development, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2006.



GIS and Social Research, Small Research Grant, Faculty Development Program, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005.

Principal Investigator, Getting the White Votes. American Political Science Association Research Grant, Washington D.C., 2003.

Principal Investigator, A Comparative Study of Urban Elections. Faculty Research Development Grant, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 2004.

Principal Investigator, Getting the White Votes. Faculty Research Development Grant, the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 2003.

Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grant, the American Political Science Association, 1999

## **AWARDS AND HONORS**

*Nominee for the Career & Professional Development Center, Faculty Recognition Program*, University of Utah. 2018.

*Winner of A Showcase of Extraordinary Faculty Achievements (for publication of my book, Social Research: Integrating Mathematical Foundations and Modern Statistical Computing. San Diego: Cognella Academic Publishing)*, With commendation from the J. Willard Marriott Library and the Office of the Vice President for Research. University of Utah. 2016

*Nominee for the Social and Behavior Science College Superior Research Award* (senior scholar category), nominated by the political science department in both 2011 and 2012.

*Professor of Political Science* (National 985-Plan Supported Foreign Scholar), Taught Summer Class at School of Government, Nanjing University, Nanjing, China. 2012.

*TRISS Endowed Professorship for Excellence*, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, 2007-8

*Artinian Award for Professional Development*, Southern Political Science Association, 2004

*Byran Jackson Award* for the best research/dissertation in racial and ethnic politics in an urban setting, Urban Politics Section, the American Political Science Association, 1999

*Ted Robinson Award* for the best research in race and ethnicity, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1999

*Who's Who in America*, 2001-2006, Marquis, USA.

*Davis Summer Research Grant*, Stephens College, 2001

*Firestone Baars Grant* for Faculty Development, Stephens College, 1999-2001

*Vice President Discretion Grant* for Research, Stephens College, 2001, 2000

*Advanced Graduate Student Travel Grant*, the American Political Science Association, 1999

*Graduate Student Travel Grant*, University of New Orleans, 1997

*The Best Graduate Student Paper Award*, Department of Political Science, Oklahoma State University, 1993

*Pi Sigma Alpha*, National Political Science Honor Society, 1994

## **PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS**

*Member*, Review Board, Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences, 2019-present

*Member*, Board of Directors, National Association for Ethnic Studies, 2013-2015

*Editorial Board*, Urban Affairs Review, 2008-2011

*Editorial Advisor*, International Encyclopedia of Political Science, CQ Press, 2005-2011

*Editor*, Urban News, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2004-2010

*Chair*, Urban Politics Program, Southern Political Science Association Annual Convention, 2008

*Co-Chair*, Asian Pacific American Caucus, American Political Science Association, 2004-2006

*Member*, American Political Science Association Small Research Grant Committee, 2005

## **AS A JUDGE OR REVIEWER OF WORKS OF OTHER SCHOLARS FOR ACADEMIC JOURNALS OR PRESSES**

2001-present

Perspectives; Politics and Religion; American Political Science Review; Lexington Books; Journal of Behavioral and Social Sciences; The National Science Foundation; Sage Publications, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc; McGraw Hill Publishing; Journal of Politics; National Political Science Review, Political Analysis; Social Science Quarterly; Urban Affairs Review; Political Research Quarterly; Politics and Policy; Journal of Urban Affairs; American Politics Research; Public Opinion Quarterly; Political Behavior; Sociological Methods and Research

## **PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES**

*Reviewer*, University **URC Faculty Scholarly Grant Program, 2020**

*Chair*, Faculty Tenure and Promotion Committee, Political Science, 2019-2020

*Member*, Curriculum Overhaul Committee, Ethnic Studies, 2018-2019

*Member*, Faculty Tenure and Promotion Committee, Political Science, 2018-2019

*Chair*, Faculty Tenure and Promotion Sub-Committee, Ethnic Studies, 2017-2018

*Member*, Graduate Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2018

*Member*, Executive Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2018



*Faculty Senator*, the University of Utah, 2015-2018

*Chair*, American Politics Field, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2018

*Member*, GC Building Committee, Social Science Lab, 2015-2018

*Expert Volunteer* for Utah Fair Redistricting Legal Team, 2017

*Member*, Assistant Vice President for Diversity Search Committee, 2015-2016

*Member*, Ad Hoc Graduate Committee for Writing, 2015-2016

*Chair*, Faculty Joint Appointment Search Committee, ethnic studies program and theatre department, the University of Utah, 2014-2015

*Member*, Betty Glad Foundation Committee, political science department, the University of Utah, 2014-2015

*Chair*, Awards Committee, National Association for Ethnic Studies, 2014

*Faculty Mentor* to Junior Faculty, Department of Political Science, 2013-2018

*Chair*, University of Utah MLK Committee. 2012-2013.

*Member*, Graduate School Dean Search Committee, 2013.

*Member*, University Diversity Leadership Team, the University of Utah. 2010-2013.

*Member*, University Teaching Program Committee, the University of Utah, 2011-2013.

*Member*, University Diversity Curriculum Committee, Undergraduate Studies, the University of Utah, 2011-2013.

*Judge*, The Research Day of College of Social and Behavioral Science, 2011-2013.

*Member*, Organizing Committee, International Conference on Urbanization and Development in China, University of Utah, August 2010.

*Member*, Retention, Promotion, and Tenure Committee, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2011-2013.

*Assistant Director*, Ethnic Studies Program, the University of Utah. 2010-2011.

*Committee Member*, Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2009-2011.

*Committee Member*, Utah Opportunity Scholarship, the University of Utah, reviewing and making decisions on more than 200 applications. 2009-2010.

*Member*, Ethnic Studies Positions Exploration Committee, the University of Utah. 2009-2010.

*Member*, Marketing Committee, Department of Political Science, the University of Utah. 2009-2010.

*Guest Speaker*, “Obama and the 2008 Presidential Election: A Spatial Analysis” at the Graduate Seminar titled Introduction of Survey Research in Higher Education. College of Education. The University of Utah. Feb. 3, 2009.

*Special Speaker*, “Obama and the Minimum Winning Coalition” Ethnic Studies Works in Progress Presentation. The University of Utah. Dec., 5, 2008.

*Special Speaker*, “Election 2008: A Symposium,” Hinckley Institute of Politics, University of Utah. October 6, 2008.

*Special Speaker*, “Predicting the 2008 Presidential Election Outcomes” Political Science Department, the University of Utah. Sept. 25, 2008.

*Political Commentator* for reporting from Salt Lake Tribune, AP, EFE Hispanic News Services, Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, WHBY, KFRU radio stations, the Post-Crescent, Oshkosh Northwestern, Columbia Missourian, and the Daily Utah Chronicle. December 1999 to present.

*Faculty Representative* for University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, ICPSR, University of Michigan, 2007-2008

*Member, Board of Trustees*, Wisconsin International School, 2007-2008

*Member*, UWO Office of Institutional Research Advisory Board, 2007-2008

*President*, Northeast Wisconsin Chinese Association, 2007 (executive vice president, 2006)

*Member*, Program Evaluation Committee. College of Letters and Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2007-2008

*Member*, Political Science Curriculum, Center for New Learning, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2007-2008

*Moderator*, Oshkosh City Forum, Mayoral Candidates’ Debates, March 23, 2005

*Grant Reviewer*, Faculty Development Program. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2004-2008

*Member*, African American Minor Counsel. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2006-2008

*Member*, Search Committee for University Foundation President. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005-2006.

*Member*, Faculty Senate Libraries & Information Services Committee. University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005-2008.

*Chair/Member*, Curriculum Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2002-2008.

*Chair*, Budget Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2007-2008.

*Member*, Personal Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2007-2008.

*Member*, Search Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, September 2002-2008.

*Faculty Director*, the Stephens College Model UN Team, National Model United Nations Conference, New York, New York, March, 2002.

*Chair*, Political Science Search Committee, Stephens College. August 2001 to May 2002.

*Member*, Editorial Advisory Board, Collegiate Press, San Diego, California. 2000 to 2001.

*Chair*, Harry Truman Scholarship Committee, Stephens College. 2000 to 2002.

*Member*, Strategic Planning and Budgeting Committee, Stephens College. 2000 to 2002.

### **CONFERENCE PAPER/PROCEEDINGS**

Liu, Baodong. "Racial Prejudice behind the Anti-Affirmative Action Attitude of Asian Americans," paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Conference. San Diego. April 2019.

Liu, Baodong, Porter Morgan and Dimitri Kokoromytis. "Immigration, Nation-State Contexts and Value Changes of Ethnic Chinese" paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference. Chicago. April 2019.

Baodong Liu. "The Strategical Religious Voter", paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Chicago, Illinois. April 2018.

Baodong Liu, Nicole Batt and Zackery Stickney. "Authoritarianism for and against Trump", paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Las Vegas, Nevada. February 2018.

Baodong Liu. "The Strategic Religious Voter", paper presented at the Oxford Symposium on Religious Studies, Oxford, UK. March 2016.

Baodong Liu. "The Political Fate of Religious Minorities in the U.S. Presidential Elections." paper presented at the 19<sup>th</sup> Annual American Association of Behavioral and Social Sciences. Las Vegas, Nevada. February 2016.

Baodong Liu. "The Political Fate of Religious Minorities in the U.S. Presidential Elections." paper presented at the Hawaii University International Conferences on Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences and Education. Honolulu, Hawaii. January 2016.

Baodong Liu. "Statistical Inference and Visualization of Big Data in Urban Research", paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on China Urban Development, Shanghai, China. June 2015.

Baodong Liu. "Race, Religion, and U.S. Presidential Elections," paper presented at the Annual Convention of National Association for Ethnic Studies, Oakland, California. April 2014.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections," paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, Athens, Greece. June 2013.

Baodong Liu. "Deracialization in the Post-Obama Era," presented at the National Black Political Scientist Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 2012.

Baodong Liu. "Obama's Racial Coalition," paper presented at the Southwestern Social Science Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 2011.

Geoffrey M. Draper, Baodong Liu, and Richard F. Riesenfeld. "Integrating Statistical Visualization Research into the Political Science Classroom" Information Systems Educators Conference. 2010. Nashville, Tennessee. October 2010.

Baodong Liu. "Space and Time: An Empirical Analysis of 2008 Presidential Election," paper delivered at the Annual American Political Science Association Conference, Toronto, Canada, September 2009.

Baodong Liu. "Sequential and Spatial Voting: An Analysis of the 2008 Democratic Primaries," paper presented at the 2009 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 2009.

Baodong Liu. "Social Capital, Race, and Turnout," paper presented at the 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 2008.

Baodong Liu and Lori Weber. "Social Capital and Voting Participation," paper presented at the 2008 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2008.

Baodong Liu. "The 2006 New Orleans Mayoral Election," paper presented at the 2007 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 2007.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and Erica Williams. "The Political Ramifications of a Large-Scale Natural Disaster," paper presented at the 2006 annual conference, the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 2006.

Baodong Liu. "EI Extended Model and the Fear of Ecological Fallacy," paper presented at the 2006 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 2006.

Baodong Liu. "The Fear of Ecological Fallacy and the Methods to Conquer It" paper presented at the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Oakland, CA, April 2005.

Baodong Liu. "The Whites Who Stayed in the City," paper presented at the 2004 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 2004.

Baodong Liu. "Whites as a Minority and the New Biracial Coalition," paper presented at the 2004 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2004.

Baodong Liu and James Vanderleeuw. "Economic Development Priorities and Central City/Suburb Differences," presented at the 2003 Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 2003.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and Greg Marsh, "Divided Leadership and Racial Reflexivity in Memphis: An Analysis of the 1991, 1995 and 1999 Mayoral Elections," presented at the 2003 Southwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, April 2003.

Baodong Liu. "White Votes Count: The Effect of Black Candidates' Qualifications on White Crossover Voting," paper presented at the 98<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference, Boston, Massachusetts, September 2002.

Baodong Liu. "Searching for a 'Qualified' Black Candidate," *Proceedings of the 97<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference*, San Francisco California, September 2001.

Baodong Liu. "In Defense of an Ethical Rational Choice Theory," paper delivered at the 2001 Jessie Ball duPont Fund Summer Seminars for Liberal Arts College Faculty, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle, North Carolina, June 2001.

Baodong Liu. "Reconsidering Social Interaction Theory," presented at the 2001 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas Nevada, March 2001.

James Vanderleeuw, Baodong Liu, and John Johnson. "Economic Development Priorities of City Administrators: A Report on a Survey of City Administrators in Texas," presented at the 2001 Louisiana Political Science Association Convention, Lamar Texas, March 2001.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Transition: Explaining the Curvilinear Relationship between Black Density and White Crossover Voting," *Proceedings of the 96<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference*, Washington DC, September 2000.

Baodong Liu and James Vanderleeuw. "Racial Transition: Explaining the Curvilinear Relationship between Black Density and White Crossover Voting," presented at the 96<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference, Washington DC, September 2000.

Baodong Liu. "Electoral Law and the Russian Party System: A Comparative Study," presented at the 58<sup>th</sup> Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago Illinois, April 2000.

James Vanderleeuw and Baodong Liu. "Rolling Off in the Context of Context," presented at the 30<sup>th</sup> Southwestern Political Science Association Conference, Galveston Texas, March 2000.

Baodong Liu. "The Changing Nature of Electoral Competition in Japan." Roundtable Discussant, the 52<sup>nd</sup> Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting, San Diego California, March 2000.

Baodong Liu. "Racial Context and White Voting Strategies," presented at the 95<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Conference, Atlanta Georgia, September 1999.

Baodong Liu. "The President's Support in Congress: A Test of U.S. China Policy, 1980-1994," *The 1997 Southern Political Science Association Convention*, Norfolk Virginia, November 1997.

Baodong Liu. "Examining the Race Line: White Voting Behavior in New Orleans, 1980-1994," *The 27<sup>th</sup> Southwestern Political Science Association Conference*. New Orleans Louisiana, March 1997.

Baodong Liu. "Intrapartisan Defeats and the Nomination Strategies of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party in the 1993 Election," *The Sixth Annual Graduate Student Research Symposium*. Oklahoma State University. Stillwater Oklahoma, February 1995.

**INVITED SPEAKER, ROUNDTABLE/PANEL DISCUSSANT**

Baodong Liu. “The 2020 Presidential Election and the Future of American Democracy”, invited lecture given to Chinese Americans on Zoom. September 2020.

Baodong Liu, Michael Cobb, and Richard Engstrom. “Understanding the Support for Ranked-Choice Voting in Two Southern Cities” talk given at the Electoral Reform Research Group, Research Development Conference. Washington D.C. February 2020.

Baodong Liu. ““Nation-State Context and Authoritarian Value Changes of Ethnic Chinese.” Talk given at the workshop of The Clash of Authoritarianisms: Secularism versus Islamism in Turkey, University of Utah. April 2019

Baodong Liu. “Trump’s Voters,” Panel Discussion on Presidential Primaries. Hinckley Institute of Politics. The University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. March 2016

Baodong Liu. “Big Data in the Social Sciences,” The Consortium for Research on China and Asia (CROCA) and Policy at the Podium. The University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. November 2014.

Baodong Liu. “Deracialization in the Historical Perspective,” the National Black Political Scientist Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 2012.

“Educating the Best Students in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: the New Ethnic Studies Major at the University of Utah,” a presentation provided to the University Diversity Division Fall Retreat (March 12, 2011), the Ethnic Studies Program (August, 17, 2011), and the Community Council (September 13, 2011), at the University of Utah.

“Quantitative Analysis: Ecological Inferences and the Voting Rights Law,” a Ford Foundation Project, Duke University. July 24-28, 2010.

“Election 2008: A Symposium,” Hinckley Institute of Politics, University of Utah. October 6, 2008.

“IMMIGRATION TODAY: What are the Issues?” League of Women Voters of the Oshkosh Area Public Forum, November 12, 2007.

Theme Panel: “Bleaching” New Orleans? Power, Race, and Place After Katrina, the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, September 2, 2006.

“2006 Midterm Election Preview,” American Democracy Project, the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, November 2, 2006.

“Analysis on the 2006 Midterm Election Results,” American Democracy Project, the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, November 9, 2006.

“The Politics of New Americans: Studying Asian American Political Engagement,” the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. September 3, 2005.

“Significance of Voting Rights Act,” Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights under Law, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Washington DC: June 17-18, 2004.

“Protecting Democracy: Defining the Research Agenda for Voting Rights Reauthorization,” the Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. May 10, 2004.

*Chair*, the Politics of Ethnicity and Self-Determination Panel, International Studies Association-Midwest Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, November 2, 2001.

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP**

Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Honor Society  
American Political Science Association  
Western Political Science Association  
Midwest Political Science Association  
Association for Asian American Studies  
Association of Chinese Political Studies  
Southwestern Political Science Association

## **Serve as an Advisor/Committee Member for the following Graduate Students**

Nicole Batt (Ph.D Dissertation Chair)  
Jake Peterson (Ph.D Dissertation Chair)  
Matt Haydon (Ph.D. Dissertation Chair)  
Porter Morgan (Ph.D. Committee)  
Charles Turner (Ph.D Committee)  
Geri Miller-Fox (Ph.D Committee)  
Alex Lovell (Ph.D Committee)  
Samantha Eldrudge (Ph.D Committee)  
Leslie Haligan-Park (Ph.D Committee)  
Nicole Cline (Master Committee Chair)  
Oakley Gordon (Master Committee)  
Michael McPhie (Master Committee)